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Monguor AE9

[For data on kinship terminology among the Monguor of Kansu, see 10:
Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 352-358.]

596 go on living as a group even though the new head of the family is not obeyed as he should be and each component man-and-wife family is jealous and resentful of the others.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW FAMILIES

Continuing with the example of the four brothers who have been taken as a typical case of the breaking up of an extended family, it will be found that there are no dramatic ceremonies ratifying the establishment of the four new "chimneys." Sometimes the man who is establishing his own "chimney" will kill a sheep, invite some elders and his maternal uncle, offer them wine, and receive their good wishes for a happy future, while his sons and daughters-in-law and the grandchildren prostrate themselves before him and his wife. Thereafter, four new "chimneys" are registered in the archives of the village instead of one.

Generally speaking, it can be said that family ties among the Monguors are not as binding as they used to be. There is an increasing tendency to separate into small families. The bonds and associations of the clan have resisted change more successfully than the extended family.

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888 Certain aspects of the family, however, remain strong, especially the gradation of respect according to seniority of generation. Children, from their earliest years, are accustomed to seeing each generation show respect to the generations senior to it, especially on formal occasions such as funerals, marriages, the installation of the chief of the clan, and all ceremonies connected with veneration of the ancestors. They grow up accustomed to this kind of respect, which is as important in the community and the clan as it is in the family. The result is a social outlook in which the individual is subordinated to the family and the community.

CLASSIFICATION OF KINSHIP

• 601 In the classification of relationship, the Monguors use the same term for all members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Thus, I address as "grandfather" not only my own grandfather, but all his brothers and the sons of his father's brothers. The term is *adic*, with differentiation of *sgc* ("big") for those members of this class who are older than my grandfather, and *mula* ("little") for those who are younger. Similarly, I address as *anic* not only my own grandmother but the wives of all the men whom I address as "grandfather," with the same distinction of "big" and "little" for those who are older or younger than my actual grandmother. This term *anic*, which is also the polite expression for "madame," I likewise apply not only to the "grandmothers" who are married to my "grandfathers," but to my grandfather's sisters, because they have the same clan name that he has. In other words, his "sisters" are not only his father's daughters but the daughters of his father's brothers—

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but not the daughters of his father's sisters, because these women have the names of the clans into which their mothers married, different from the name of my clan.

All the men, of the generation of my father, according to the same system of identification, I address as *ada*, *awā*, or *aba*, the terms for "father." In addressing them, I also remember to use the distinction between "big" and "little" according to age. There is, however, one special term: the youngest brother of my father I address as *aga*.

The wives of all those whom I address as "father" I address as *ama* or *ani*, the terms for "mother." In addition to distinguishing between them as "big" and "little" according to age, I address the first wife of one of my fathers as "big" and his concubine as "little."

All the sisters of my father I address as *agu* and their husbands I address as *ayu*.

In my own generation, my brothers include the sons of my father's brothers and my sisters include the daughters of my father's brothers; but the sons and daughters of my father's sisters are not my brothers and sisters. In the brother class, those who are older than I are *aga*, and are classified as "big" and "little" according to whether they are older or younger than each other. Those in the brother classification who are younger than I are my *diu*, and I also make the "big" and "little" distinction according to whether they are older or younger than each other. The general term for "brothers" is *aga-diu*.

Among the wives of my brothers, I call those who are the wives of my elder brothers *biergen* and those who are the wives of my younger brothers *diu bici*.

Among my own sisters, I call those who are older than I *k'ad'zi* and those who are younger than I *fud'zin diu*. The general term for those in my sister-class is *k'ad'zi-diu*. The husbands of my sisters I call *kurgen* or *kurgen diu*, according to whether they are senior or junior to me.

If I want to make distinctions in describing those who are in my brother-class, I call those who are the sons of my own father *nige adeni aga diu* ("elder and younger brothers of one father"); those who are the actual grandsons of my actual grandfather *nige adieni aga diu* ("elder and younger brothers of one grandfather"); and those who are the grandsons of men in my grandfather-class *khulo aga diu* ("remote elder and younger brothers").

I call *k'u* not only my own sons but the sons of all those in my brother-class, even the most remote.

The wives of my sons I call *k'u bici*.

I call *fud'zin* not only my own daughters but the daughters of all my brothers. The husbands of my daughters I call *k'urgen*. The sons of my sisters, however, I call *dzic k'u* and the daughters of my sisters I call *dzic fudzin*. In this respect the usage of the Monguors is like that of the Chinese, who call the

•601 children of their sisters "outside" relatives, because they bear a different clan name.

My grandsons and all the boys in my grandson-class I call *sun dze k'u* and their wives I call *sun dze bieri*.

My granddaughters and all girls in my granddaughter-class I call *sun dze fu d'ziin* and their husbands *sun dze jud'ziin k'urgen*.

My maternal uncles, both the actual brothers of my own mother and the brothers of all those who are in my mother-class, I call *nage* or *adziu*.

My mother's sisters I call *anie* ("madame") and their husbands I call *ayu*.

My wife I call *ndani bieri* ("our wife") and she calls me *ndani k'un* ("our man") or *dzanguidie*, "boss," a Chinese loan-word. She may also call me *da.xu*, the Monguor term for "boss," or she may address me as "father of my children." If however I should have occasion to beat my wife she will, in appealing for mercy, call me *ago* or "elder brother."

Those who are in the grandfather class of my wife I call *gadim adie*, with distinctions of "big" and "little." Those in the grandmother class of my wife I call *gadim anie*, with distinctions between "big" and "little." Those in my wife's father-class I call *gadim ada* (or *awa*, or *aba*). Those in my wife's mother-class I call *gadim awa* or *gadim anie*.

Those in my wife's brother-class, according to whether they are older or younger than she, I call *gadim aga* or *gadim diu*. Those in my wife's sister-class I call, following the same principle, *gadim k'a d'zi* or *gadim fu d'ziin diu*.

My wife calls all those in my brother-class, according to whether they are older or younger than I, *aga* or *diu*. Those in my sister-class she calls, on the same principle, *kadzi* or *jud'ziin diu*. The wives of those in my brother-class who are older than I she calls *biergan*, and those who are younger, *diu bieri*; speaking about them with other people, she adds *gadim*, "in-law relative." Two families whose son and daughter marry call themselves *gudor*.

The classificatory system is observed even in the most ordinary family conversation. Thus a father, wanting to send for one of his brothers, will say to a child "call your big father (i.e. my elder brother)" or "call your little father (i.e. my younger brother)." In the same way, if he wants to send for the wife of his elder brother he says "call your big mother." Even children, playing together, speak to each other as "older brother" or "younger brother." Out of courtesy, and because of the universal respect for old age, the classificatory terms are also used "artificially"; old people are addressed as "grandmother," "great-uncle," or "great aunt," even when they are not related.

GLOSSARY OF KINSHIP TERMS

The following glossary is drawn from De Smedt and Mostaert, *Dictionnaire monguor-français*, as already

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cited. A simplified transcription is used, instead of that of De Smedt and Mostaert, with its many diacritical marks. References to "Mongol" are to standard written Mongol, using Mostaert's transcription with slight simplification. References to "Ordos" are to contemporary spoken Ordos Mongol as cited in De Smedt and Mostaert in their dictionary, and again in Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos*, already cited, but using a simplified transcription.

aba: father. Cf. Mongol *aba*; Tibetan 'a-pa, 'a-p'a.

ada: father. Cf. Hsining Chinese *ah-ta*; Turkish *ata*.

adie: grandfather. Cf. Hsining Chinese *ah-tieh*, grandfather; standard Chinese *tieh*, father.

adieni: possessive of *adie*, grandfather.

ago (also *aguò*): elder brother; term of respect when addressing an equal. Cf. Hsining Chinese *ah-ko*, standard Chinese *ko*.

adzi: elder sister. Cf. Chinese *chieh*.

aga: elder brother. Cf. Dagor Mongol *aga*, Mongol *aga*, Ordos *akha*, Turkish *aga*. N.B. The term *aga*, given in the text above as "youngest brother of my father," is written by De Smedt and Mostaert *āga* (with the first *a* long), and the meaning: "Younger brother of my father."

aga diu: elder and younger brother (i.e. "brothers" as an inclusive term).

agu: paternal aunt; term of respect in addressing women. Cf. Hsining Chinese *ah-ku*; standard Chinese *ku*.

ama: mother. Cf. Hsining Chinese *ah-ma*; Tibetan 'a-ma; standard Chinese *ma*.

ani: mother. Cf. Turkish *ana*.

anie: grandmother. Cf. Tibetan *ā-ne*, aunt. Also used for "madame."

awa: father. Cf. Mongol *aba*, *abai*; Ordos *awā*.

awni: possessive of *awa*, father.

ayu: husband of a paternal aunt.

biēri: wife, woman. Cf. Mongol *beri* and Ordos *berē*, both with the meaning of daughter-in-law, and Kalmuk Mongol *berē*, a young wife.

dakhu: proprietor, master. De Smedt and Mostaert refer, but with a question mark, to Mongol *daruga*, Ordos *daruga* or *dargu*.

diu: younger brother. Cf. Mongol *degü*, Ordos *dā*.

dziē: child of a sister or a daughter. Cf. Mongol *jige*, Ordos *dzē*.

fud'zün: girl, young girl. Cf. Mongol *ökin*, Ordos *o'kin*. De Smedt-Mostaert refer to *sdzün* as a synonym (or alternative form) of *fud'zün*, with further reference to Shirongol *uchin*, "daughter," and *kuchin* or *uchin dyu*, "younger sister." This suggests that we have here a word of the well-known class that once began with an *h*, lost in modern Mongol but sometimes preserved in archaic dialects (e.g. Mongol *ar-ban*, Dagor *harban*, "ten"). In this case, an *h* or *kh* (velar) seems to have been replaced by an *f* (*fud'zün*) or a palatalized *s* (*sdzün*).

601 *gadim* (also *gadin*): relatives in law having a different clan name; wife's family in relation to husband's, or husband's family in relation to wife's. Cf. Mongol *qadum*, *qadam*; Ordos *khadam*.

k'adzi: elder sister. Cf. Mongol *egeci*, Ordos *egetshi*.
K'adzi diu, elder and younger sisters; sisters in general.

khulo: far, distant, remote. Cf. Mongol *qola*, Ordos *kholo*.

k'u: son, boy. Cf. Mongol *köbegün*, Ordos *k'u*.

k'urgen: son-in-law. Cf. Mongol *kürgen*, Ordos *k'urgen*.

mula: little, younger, etc. Cf. Mongol *millagar*, flattened.

nagē: maternal uncle. Cf. Mongol *nagai*, Ordos *nagū*.

ndāni: genitive plural of the first person.

sge: great, honorable, etc. Cf. Mongol *yeke*, Ordos *ikhe*.

sundze (written *sun dse* in text, above): grandson. Cf. Chinese *sun-tze*.^{1a}

NUCLEAR AND EXTENDED FAMILY

594 It must not be thought however that children are unable to distinguish between their actual parents and their "classificatory" parents in the extended family. The mother and father and their own children form a well defined "nuclear" family within the extended family. Some authors, in their efforts to stress the importance of the classificatory system, neglect this fact which is obvious to an observer living in actual contact with such a society.¹ The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family, and personal possessions, like clothes and the children's toys, are all kept in this room. A mother sews all the clothes and shoes for her own children. After the main meal of the day, eaten in common with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room. Parents correct and punish their own children, and it is good reason for a quarrel if anybody else dares to punish them. If a child is sick, it calls for its own mother and sleeps beside her. If there is something wrong with the conduct of a woman, the grandfather calls her husband and tells him to discipline his wife and to beat her if need be. Thus the head of the family sets the standard of discipline, but it is the husband who actually exercises discipline. Conversely, if a woman has trouble with other women, she seeks the support of her husband.

603 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather first consults her father and mother before taking action, in his capacity as head of the family, to arrange a match with another family. When such materials as cloth for the making of clothes are to be distributed, it

^{1a} For these terms, compare David F. Aberle, *The kinship system of the Kalmuk Mongols*, Univ. of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology, 3, Albuquerque, N. M., Univ. New Mexico Press, 1953, one of the studies completed under the program of Mongol studies at the Johns Hopkins University.

¹ See, for example, M. Granet, *La civilisation chinoise* 1: 185. Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

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595 4. Position of the Concubine with Respect to the Official Wife

In theory the official wife is the mistress, she takes precedence over her companion, she gives orders in the house, receives guests in the absence of the husband, converses with them together with him, settles the thousand little matters which occur in the course of the day, has the right to go to festivals before the second wife... and after her death, she will have precedence over the second wife in the cemetery.

But in practice, except for her title and her precedence in the cemetery, everything will depend on the way in which she will be able to deal with her rival and command her husband's respect; if she is the least bit less talented than the rival, her superiority will vanish very quickly.

It is natural besides for the husband to be fonder of the young woman who gives him children than of the great lady who is sterile. The husband would need the tact of a master and that for a whole lifetime in order never to allow this natural inclination, which must cause jealousy in the official wife, to appear. The wife would have to have a heroic character not to become bitter when she notices that she occupies only second place in the heart and the esteem of the husband when it is natural for her to think that she has a right to the first. Now, unfortunately, all T'ou-jen husbands are not masters of tact and all T'ou-jen wives are not heroines in the mastery of the heart. So it is rare that the wives get along well with each other. Nevertheless, if the official wife is in the least capable and the husband is correct, she will be able to take precedence at home and in public, she will be able to demand from her husband /109/ better clothes than those the concubine wears, she will be able to live with her husband in the best room, to have herself served first at meals
595 after the husband, to sit down first after him, etc.... When there is
601 a quarrel between the wives, the husband simply goes walking and comes back when the storm has calmed down.

The second wife will call the official wife "my big sister," and the official wife will call the second "my sister." When there are children, they will say: "Call me the grandmother of the children" or "Call me the little mother." Similarly, the husband will say: "Where is the children's grandmother; where is the little one?"

Ma /158 cont'd/

606 he is made to sit at the bottom of the k'ang on a little bench during the dinner which precedes the departure, while the drivers of the cart take their places at the table. The bridegroom is not treated as a guest there either.

Mo In the same series of facts must again be classed the presence
601 required of the son-in-law at the home of the parents-in-law when
606 the latter have to defend their rights by force, for example, on the occasion of a suicide or the repudiation of one of their daughters.

The fact that the son-in-law calls all the members of his wife's family by the same name that he calls respectively those of his own family, adding gadin, which means "relative by marriage," is rather significant in itself.

Mo All these facts taken together prove not only the existence of
60 the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen at a /159/ previous period, but they even give the illusion, both by their number and by their diversity, that the T'ou-jen still live under this system today. Now that is not true. Their social economy is indubitably patriarchal. The explanation of this fact must be found in this: that they practice these matriarchal rites and customs without understanding them any more, because their ancestors practiced them, because they still continue to

Mo be part of the body of custom. They do not find it strange that the
[604] maternal uncle is called the "master of the bones of his sister's children," that he gives permission to bury the dead, that he presides at weddings, etc. It seems completely natural to them that it is he who enjoys these prerogatives and not the grandfather, solely because he has always enjoyed them. T'ou-jen men of letters, imbued with
Mo Confucianist principles, do not examine this question either, for,
[171] they say, our T'ou-jen ways have always differed from Chinese ways...., and for them all is accounted for.

Thus it is that one understands the coexistence of two systems diametrically opposed to each other and the extreme slowness with which one passes from one social system to another among these peoples. This is also what explains the great diversity one encounters in the ways and customs of the T'ou-jen when one considers them in detail.

[633 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] *The* informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the dźawdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism; Om mani padme hum, loc. cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gāṃsgur (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies.

Word List

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Age-consecration: šge lama ndziala- = great lama-invitation.

Master of ceremonies: kāṃguo.

To fetch the hutukhtu: gdzō niwa (twice) (or dānwu, if the first time).

Mother's brother: nēgā; achiu (Chin.); ayañ.

● [60] Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).

Sash: gēdzān (Tib. loanword) (6).

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6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gēdzān: Tibetan gāzn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gōṃsōn: Tib. dgoñ = solitude, soñ = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gēlōnba: Tib. dge = virtue, slon = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bsnen = to approach, -- gāṃsgur:

764 [640 cont.]

[602] relatives do not come (15). The mother's brother is solemnly

[604]

764

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[171]

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15. [Foreign text pp. 654-655.] Three groups of relatives are to be distinguished, which correspond to the kinship divisions of the Chinese there: 1. One's own family, dzienani kudě, Chin. pen-chia. To this belong the descendants in a direct line, son, grandson, grandchildren, even the daughters who are already married outside. They live together in one compound. 2. Cousinhood, dzienani šāni, Chin. tang-chia-tzu. These are the father's brothers and cousins, in practice all the relatives with the same family name. -- This group is obligated to provide for the interment, while one's own family (even the daughters) wear mourning dress and are subject to the strict mourning taboos. As soon as the daughters return to their husband's family, however, they take off the mourning. 3. Affinity by marriage, urog, Chin. ch'in-chia, ch'in-ch'i. Since among the Tujen here the Chinese expressions are now in use, the following names should be distinguished: ch'in-chia in the strict sense is the relationship of the sons-in-law with whom the daughters have married. They have another family name, wai-hsing. The family from which the mother comes is called wai-chia; here the brother of the mother is the person of respect who represents her interests. The family from which the mother of the father comes is called wei-chia; here, too, for the

[640 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.]
father his mother's brother is the person of respect, who in case of death demands an accounting. Wei-chia and wai-chia have the same signs; only the pronunciation is different. Literally translated it means [655] "the outside family," in other words, not belonging to the male line. Instead of wai-chia one also says niang-chia, which designates the family from which the mother comes. This expression is also used for the family of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried.
-- The wai-chia or niang-chia does not appear until the day before the cremation.

The mother's brother is solemnly

received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box.
There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other companions are given hospitality outside in the yard where everything is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the accounting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to the house, facing the mani-tree. A kang table is put in front of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are supposed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking, tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousinhood on the father's side (16). After the first bite, the guests are

16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the interment, the Tujen have the

192 [649 cont.]

764 Death box: odōñ.

Bone-chest: mula odōñ = little death-box.

[354] Water-lamp: fdzē dzūla.

Paper-bowl: tsialdzē pendzē.

To wear the clothing reversed: diela furula mōsē.

Prayer tea: rgē tsia.

[782] Prayer for the dead: xar(i)dzān kunē xuenuo mani sguorluo-
= (to pray) in behalf of the deceased person
afterwards the mani in the circle.

Prayer fee for the lama: mbō (Tib. loanword).

Prayer alms: odōñ dzied = death-box alms.

192 Own family: dzienāni kudē.

601 Relatives on the father's side: dzienani sāni = own relatives, those
with the same family name.

Relatives on the mother's side, affinity through marriage: uroḡ.
Those with different family names.

[608] Artificial kinship: sāni funi = kinship-smoke. Neighbors and
friends who take the place of relatives in per-
forming services at the reception of guests, cre-
mation, etc.

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[764] Bone-master, mother's brother: tsigān yesēni daxu = the owner
of the white bones;
ku-chu (Chin.).

Mother's brother: nēgā; achiu (Chin.).

Nephew (sister's son): dzie; wai-sheng (Chin.).

Son-in-law: kurgien; nū-hsū (Chin.).

Sister: agū.

Daughter: fsdzūn.

192 He died as a rider: tsūrog morina bagaldilā sdzia fugudzia.

764 He died as a settler: sānrēdzi liela guei wōldzia.

Burned bones: xuodzēn yāsē = dry bones.

Crematory: taw (tab) (Tib.).

Lighting pole: xuāmbar.

Lay bonze: lao shih-fu (Chin.) = old master.

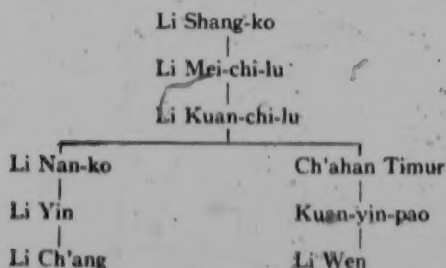
Demand for an accounting: bāda; pai-ta (Chin.).

769 Grave festival: ch'ing-ming (Chin.); sēñ-miñ (21) [see Note 21
192 above].

Ch'ang and Li Wen correspond with the names encountered in the lists of the *Annals* of Hsining and Kansu.

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HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE DOCUMENTS

Both important documents manifest the confusion existing in the minds of the Li t'u-ssu and their subjects during and at the end of the Ming dynasty. Both Li clans claim (1) their first ancestor to have been Li K'o-yung, (2) who had received the name of Li, and (3) had been created prince of Chin by the Tang emperor. However, on the spirit way stele in the cemetery, erected in 1427, is chiseled that the original name of the Li K'o-yung clan was Topa, while the genealogical chronicle composed by Yueh Nai around 1644 records that the original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-hsieh.

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175x
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The Topa tribe was the leading tribe among one of the two Tibetan Tang-hsiang groups which had fled to Kansu in 627 from Sung P'an-ting (northwest Szechwan), for fear of invading T'u-fan. This group, called P'ing-hsia-p'u, was settled by the Tang emperor in the region of the present Mi Chih Hsien (northwest of Shensi). The group, during the troubles which beset the Tang empire, had founded its own Hsi Hsia kingdom, and from 982 on waged war with the Sung empire.

175x
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In 808 Shat'o, belonging to the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks, eluded the pursuit of Tibetans and fled from Kanchow through Huangchung and East Kansu to submit to China. They were settled in Ling Chou (Ninghsia), later in Yen Chou and still later eastward through Shansi. They were faithful warriors, who often saved the Tang dynasty. Later they founded their own ephemeral Shat'o dynasties (923-947), whose first emperor originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe.

Yueh Nai, author of the chronicle, writes that the Li clan originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks. He should have known that Li K'o-yung was a Shat'o Turk, that the Shat'o group differed from the Tibetan Hsi Hsia group, and was settled in its own country granted by the emperor, and had its own history. Nonetheless he makes them move into Hsi Hsia, he records two Hsi Hsia leaders, Li Sse-kung and Li Chi-feng, as being ancestors of the Turk Li Nan-ko, and records the offering of four Hsi Hsia districts to the Sung (982) as being an act of his Shat'o ancestor.

under the Yuan; he therefore lived in Huangchung and not in East Kansu in Feng-Hsiang Fu in the appanage of the Ch'i prince. It was also at that time that the Li clan parted in six branches. But the Li clan never parted in six branches because only two Li clans have existed in Huangchung and not six. 175^x
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The *Annals* of Kansu (42: 38), according to "original" documents, record that Li Wen was the son of the first wife of Li Shang-ko and that the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 2b, 10a), which printed that Li Yin was the uncle of Li Wen are to be amended. Li Wen and Li Yin were first cousins, Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko were brothers. However, the *Annals* do not tell who was the father of Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko.

Li Shang-ko

Li Nan-ko

Li Wen (first cousins)

Li Yin

During the Yuan dynasty, Li Wen discharged the office of Tu chih-huei t'ung-chih (Vice-chairman High Commandant) (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38a) and then submitted to the Ming with the officials of Huangchung in a group in 1371. The *Annals* do not note at what time Li Shang-ko died. However the fact, that Li Wen went to submit as chief of the clan means that his father had died before 1371. Because he submitted to the Ming, he and not Li Shang-ko had been granted the office of t'u-ssu. He is considered the founding ancestor of the clan and with him starts the clan cemetery. In this clan cemetery his mound is the principal and highest one. When all the subjects of the clan come yearly to honor him and the later clan ancestors, offerings and libations are first made before his mound and then before the graves of the later ancestors. Li Shang-ko, his father, is not buried in the clan cemetery.

At what time did the Li clan part into two clans? It is certain that before the submission of Li Wen before 1371, the division of the paternal inheritance had long since been accomplished between the two brothers, Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko (or between former clan chiefs), because both clans, in the Yuan dynasty, controlled definite territories, were ordered to guard definite passes and keep always ready a definite number of foot and horse (for all the t'u-ssu were in the Yuan times groups of Mongol soldiers or groups of surrendered tribes enrolled as defenders of the country). Because it is said that during the Ming and Ch'ing times they continued to occupy and defend the same territories and passes, it would seem that before the Li Nan-ko and Li Shang-ko time the division of the clan must have been achieved.

Anyway the problem of the exact time at which the partition of the clans had been achieved is not an easy one to solve, and also the problem concerning Li Wen

of the seal; controlling the Monguor officials and troops of Chuang Lang. 175^x
614
114

Families have genealogical registers as kingdoms have histories. In olden times during the Chou and Ch'in dynasties, the one hundred-twenty kingdoms each had precious books. When Ssu-Ma Ch'ien composed the Shih-chi (history) he took these books as models. The coordination of the work seemed to be so clear that future genealogical registers were built according to that model.

Ssu Ma-ch'ien composed the genealogical registers of the San Tai period (Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties, 2205-250 B.C.). However, from Huang Ti on, the number of generations is hard to determine, and because of this and of the length of time elapsed the registers are contradictory and not entirely reliable. The same problem exists with the genealogical list of Ou-Yang Hsiu and of Su Shih, which were highly esteemed at that time. From Hsun on, Ou-Yang records only five generations for a period of 300 years, and from Tsung on, he records eighteen generations for a period of only 140 years. Checking the list of Su, one notes the omission of Chang Shih from Chou, but we see him go as far upward as Lu-Chung and Kun-wu, and we feel once more its vagueness. It is difficult to rely entirely upon them. 175^x
114

The Lu family originates from the imperial family of the Yuan. However, their genealogical register does not go back that far. It reads: "(Reverentially) we dare not to look at the emperor as our ancestor. Our family name Lu started with Lu Hsien, the ancestor of the third generation. However, our first ancestor was Prince of An Ting during the Yuan. This is recorded in the genealogical lists of the Yuan dynasty, and so there is no need to investigate it again. Those who recorded the original name would not have noted it without having proof."^a

We start with the first section of the genealogical register.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER

Primordial Ancestor	T'o Huan
Second generation	Kung-pu-shih-tieh
Two sons: Ah-shih-tu succeeded, died soon, Kung-pu-shih-tieh succeeded	
Third generation	Hsien
Fourth generation	Chien
Fifth generation	Lin
Sixth generation	Chin
Seventh generation	Tung
Two sons: Tan succeeded, died soon, Tung succeeded	
Eighth generation	Kuang-tsu
Cheng-wu son of Tan succeeded, died soon. Tung three more sons: Kuang-tsu, Kuang-hsien, Kuang-kuo; Kuang-tsu succeeded	

175^x
601 ●
614

^a Yuan Shih, 107, 3b, 6a-b, 24, 27b, 113.

Ninth generation	Yung Ch'ang 175x
Tenth generation	Hung 601●
Eleventh generation	Ti Hsin 614
Two sons: Ti Ch'eng succeeded, died soon, Ti Hsin succeeded	
Twelfth generation	Hua Lin
Thirteenth generation	Feng Chu
Fourteenth generation	Fan
Fifteenth generation	Chi Hsun
Sixteenth generation	Cho
Seventeenth generation	Ju Kao

CHRONOLOGICAL BIOGRAPHIES

PREFACE

In former times Huang Li-chou (Huang Tsung-hsi) 175x always said that the science of the composition of chronological biographies is a distinctive branch (of history).

Li Wen-chien composed the chronological biographies of Sires Fan, Han, Fu, Wu Yang, Ssu Ma, and the three Su's. The later generations admired their completeness and correctness. These men had been renowned ministers and eminent scholars.

Kingdoms have official histories. Families have chronological biographies in which men are the warp and years the woof. If the biographies cover only a few years, the collection of the material is easy. In 1643 our family met with the insurrection of Huo Chin during which (our) archives, books, law registers, and official deeds, were consumed by fires set by the brigands. A dynasty is only a fraction of the history, a single man a fraction of a generation, and an event only a fraction of the life of a single man. Weaving with the warp of men and the woof of years, collected over periods of hundreds of years, and then trying to put the events of several hundred years in a one-foot roll is difficult.

Now I summarily coordinate all the events, I record our submission (to the empire) in order to conform with the will of Heaven, I record our military successes, in order to recall the glorious achievements of the ancestors, I note the dates of the birth and the death of the ancestors, the place of their interment, in order that the ulterior generations will remember to make sacrifices to them. I eliminate all doubtful events and avoid writing unchecked facts, in order not to mislead posterity. Facts which have to be believed and are important have to be recorded and insignificant ones omitted. This is the rule of the Ch'un-ch'iu. The dates of the period of the reigns of the emperors are noted with the first day of the moon.

Now we proceed to the second section, the chronological biographies.

[p 639]

Mongolian Kinship Terms

601
 Fa Fa ige * gr didie
 Fa Fa Ol Br age adie *
 Fa Fa To Br mül adie *
 Fa ala gr hda
 Fa Ol Br age hda
 Fa To Br mül hda

Ol Br age gr adie
 To Br diu

So kü
 So So atai sundra *

Si Ch jse

Fa Si age *
 Ol Si age adai *
 To Si mül adai *

Da fadula
 Mo ani
 Mo Br adai * gr mare didie
 Mo Si ayi *
 Gr Mo anie
 Vi bieri

Sp Ol Br gadin age
 Sp To Br gadin diu

Sp Ol Br Vi gadin biergän

Vi Fa Fa gadin adie *

Fa Mo gadin gadin
 Mo Ol Si gadin adai
 Mo To Si gadin diu

Fa Si Da age gr adie *
 Fa Fa Si Da gure *

Ol Br Vi biergän
 To Br Vi diu bieri
 So Vi kü bieri

* Chinese origin.

Monguor AE9

Monguor Affinal System

201

(self-
guda (reciprocal))
 $\Delta = 0 \Delta = 0$
= Obieri

$\Delta = 0$ gadim mugan
gadim = 0 gadim gadim $\Delta = 0$ Δ gadim
aga biergen adzi diu
gadim gadim
fudziün diu
gadim
0 = Δ gadim
hergen aga
biern Δ
 Δ gadim
diu

Husband's KinWife's Kin

/The Monguors/

000kitchens."

N
*563 For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the
M same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family
601 provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the
59 latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption
of sons by childless couples is practiced.

N
*563 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed
M among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and
565 commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan
582 name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when
614 the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior
to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected
by marriage is clearly seen in the special rôle of the maternal
uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over
the family into which his sister's child is born.

N
*563 The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that,
M under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner
421 of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual
property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons
of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's
share.

N
*563 III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking
361 Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

N
[171] Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans
[241] all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with
N a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older
*563 than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is
621 found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are
[631] the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether
[622] Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics
N but as to their function in the social organization. The
[701] counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or
"directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a
village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance
of law and order and for the observance of government regulations.
The larger villages have their own "family protective associations"
and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such
organization, but are recognized by the county administration as
self-administering units.

N
*563 It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions
621 as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organizations.
631 It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions